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ABSTRACT

This unit is one of a series that represents specific moments in history from which students focus on the meanings of landmark events. By studying a crucial turning point in history students become aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. Through primary sources, this unit explores the founding and early development of Jamestown and the relationship between the colonists and the indigenous people. Although the colony was established by the Virginia Company of London in the hope of making a profit by finding gold, locating a trade route to Asia, or harnessing the labor of the natives, only the discovery that tobacco could be raised profitably permitted the colony's survival. The colonists' first years were marked by disease, disaster, and death brought about largely by inappropriate expectations, poor planning, and an inability to adapt to the unfamiliar world in which they found themselves. During this same period, the foundations of Anglo-Indian relations in Virginia also were being laid. Students need to understand how very tenuous England's early efforts at colonization actually were. They need to learn how the haphazard and ill-considered decisions of the first English colonists had a profound impact on Anglo-Indian relations. Finally, this unit allows students to experience history in a way that lets them see the past not as a series of inevitable events, but as the meandering record of human choices. (Author/DK)

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ED 376 109

# EARLY JAMESTOWN

## A UNIT OF STUDY FOR GRADES 5-8

By Jim Pearson
&
Bryna Watkins

NOVA BRITANNIA.

OFFRING MOST

Excellent fruites by Planting in
VIRGINIA.

Exciting all ſuch as be well affected
to further the ſame.

LONDON
Printed for SAMVEL MACHAM, and are to be ſold at
his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the
Signe of the Bul-head.
1609.

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*A Cooperative Research Program of the*
*University of California, Los Angeles,*
*and the National Endowment for the Humanities*

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Finally, we acknowledge the continuing contributions of the National Endowment for the Humanities which established the National Center for History in the Schools in March 1988 and has generously supported this activity.

For information on additional teaching units and other resources from the Center, please write:

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Los Angeles, CA 90024-1521

## APPROACH AND RATIONALE

By Linda Symcox

The National Center for History in the Schools has developed the following collection of lessons for teaching **Early Jamestown**. Our units are the fruit of a year-long collaboration between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. They represent specific "**dramatic moments**" in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative.

In our approach, the continuing narrative provides the context in which the dramatic moment is situated. By studying a crucial turning-point in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Our dramatic moments are based on **primary sources**, taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers and literature from the period under study. As you know, a primary source is a **first-hand** account of any event in history. For example, the telecast or the script of a speech would be a primary source. A secondary source is a **second-hand** account of an event. This would be, for example, the newspaper account of the speech the next day or a newscaster's report about the speech. All historical accounts, such as textbooks, are by their very

nature secondary sources. What we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to re-create for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

## CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) **Teacher Background Materials** and 2) **Lesson Plans** with **Student Resources**. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. We have chosen to pitch the various lessons on different grade levels and they can usually be adapted to a slightly higher or lower level.

The **Teacher Background** section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific **Dramatic Moment** to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The **Lesson Plans** include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or

cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. These resources consist of primary source documents, any handouts or student background materials, and in many cases, a bibliography for the unit.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories, and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction, rather than rote memorization.

## *CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH SEEKS POWHATAN'S AID*

*In January, 1609, the colony of Jamestown was starving. The famine forced Captain John Smith to seek the aid of Powhatan and his people. Relying on his fierce will as much as his intelligence and experience, Captain Smith commanded the quarrelsome settlers of Jamestown, England's only colony at the time. Until he had taken charge, Jamestown had teetered on the brink of destruction. Even with his leadership, the colony's problems remained serious.*

*From their arrival in 1607, the settlers had always depended on the Indians of the region for food. But the unpredictable and often violent behavior of the English had caused Powhatan, the powerful chief of over two dozen tribes, to forbid his people from trading with the settlers. Although Smith desperately needed the Indians' corn, he stood this day before Powhatan not as a beggar but as someone who had been wronged by a friend. After arguing that Jamestown's settlers had not grown their own food only because they had been promised food by Powhatan, Smith claimed that the swords and guns the Indians wanted in exchange for food could not be spared. Then Smith ended his speech with a quiet threat, "The weapons I have can keep me from want: yet steal, or wrong you, I will not, nor dissolve that friendship we have mutually promised, unless you force me."*

*Powhatan's reply, as recorded by Smith, showed his subtle understanding of English intentions: "Yet, Captain Smith, some doubt I have of your coming hither, that makes me not so kindly seek to relieve you as I would: for many do inform me, your coming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my country. My people dare not come to bring you corn, seeing you are thus armed with your men. To clear us of this fear, leave*

***your weapons at home; for here they are useless, we being all friends."***

***After long negotiations and despite Powhatan's doubts, he promised to give the English what food his people could spare. His decision profoundly affected both peoples—white and red.***

Reprinted from *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631*. Vol 1. Ed. Edward Arber, F.S.A. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910.

ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND.
THE PORTRAICTVER OF CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH
These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discouries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

*Captain John Smith in his Thirty-Seventh Year*
*Courtesy of the Trustees, British Museum*



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## I. UNIT OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE

Through primary sources, this unit explores the founding and early development of Jamestown and the relationship between the colonists and the indigenous people. Although the colony was established by the Virginia Company of London in the hope of making a profit by finding gold, locating a trade route to Asia, or harnessing the labor of the natives, only the discovery that tobacco could be profitably raised permitted the colony's survival. The colonists' first years were marked by disease, disaster and death brought about largely by inappropriate expectations, poor planning and an inability to adapt to the unfamiliar world in which they found themselves. During this same period, the foundations of Anglo-Indian relations in Virginia were also being laid. The helplessness of the colonists to secure their own survival led them to establish an intimate relationship with the Indians of the Chesapeake. While this relationship was not the one originally desired by either people, the Indians were the ones who ultimately lost.

Students need to understand how very tenuous England's early efforts at colonization actually were. They need to learn how the haphazard and ill-considered decisions of the first English colonists had a profound impact on Anglo-Indian relations. Finally, this unit should allow students to experience history in a way that lets them see the past not as a series of inevitable events, but as the meandering record of human choices, some good, some bad, but all leading to the world of today.

## II. UNIT CONTEXT

This unit should be taught after studying Pre-Columbian Indians and the Age of Exploration and prior to studying late colonial America and the American Revolution. It is

essential that students have a sense of what native American cultures were like before European contact. Prior to this unit, students should already have some feel for the relationship between environment and culture, as well as an appreciation of the richness, complexity, and diversity of native American cultures. It would also be helpful if students were familiar with the Spanish model of colonization.

Contrasting the colonization of Jamestown with the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Quakers of Pennsylvania would be an excellent way to show that there were different approaches to colonization. Understanding how different these three regions were in their beginnings would help students understand the abiding regional differences that mark American history.

## III. UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To study historical documents in order to experience history as a dynamic discipline which studies, interprets, and debates the meaning of human artifacts and, through those, humanity's collective past.

2. To explain how the hard times experienced by Jamestown settlers were the result of the peculiar mix of people who emigrated to Virginia, their inappropriate expectations, and their difficulties in adapting.

3. To understand the interaction between the early settlers of Jamestown and the native Americans.

4. To appreciate that human choices determine much of what happens to people and that these choices are subject to different interpretations.

## IV. INTRODUCTION TO EARLY JAMESTOWN

The English settlement of North America began in earnest on April 26, 1607, when three small ships sighted what is now Cape Henry, Virginia. On board were 104 adventurers who hoped to emulate Spanish conquistadores like Cortez and Pizarro. After several weeks spent exploring the Chesapeake Bay, they settled on the site that would become Jamestown and began erecting a fort and dwellings.

From the beginning, English colonization in North America was essentially different from the Spanish model. Spanish colonization was capitalized, organized, and operated by the crown; the Jamestown settlement was funded by a private joint-stock company, the Virginia Colony of London, founded by merchants. Despite featuring the Christian conversion of natives prominently in its charter, the Company's real aim was profit. The Virginia Company hoped to find gold or other valuable minerals, locate a Northwest passage to Asia, trade with the indigenous population, and, if feasible, harness them into a pliant labor force as the Spanish and Portuguese had done. But the conditions of Virginia, the lack of precious minerals and a less dense, more broadly dispersed population, made the Spanish model inappropriate. Moreover, Spanish imperialism was supported with funds and soldiers from the government and hundreds of priests from the Catholic church. The Virginia Company did not have such resources.

For many years, the extraction of wealth, rather than settlement, remained the principal goal of the adventurers who came to Jamestown. There were no women among the first settlers, and for decades after its founding women were greatly under-represented. Even into the eighteenth century, a hundred years after the founding,

there were three men for every two women.

Among the first three groups from England to arrive in Jamestown, gentlemen comprised a third of the number, a proportion six times greater than in England. By definition, gentlemen had no manual skills and could not be expected to do ordinary labor. Their class background and education prepared them only for service in the military or legal professions. But because the military and legal professions were already overrepresented in the colony, many gentlemen were unemployed and resorted to squabbling, gaming or drinking. This was not an ideal situation for the rigors of colonization, but the Company had little choice except to take such people; they were the ones who wanted to come and could afford to pay their way.

The curious mix of settlers, with notions of colonization unsuitable for the land and resisted by the people they found in Virginia, meant that for many years Jamestown's survival was extremely precarious. Unwilling to farm or do the other mundane physical tasks essential for survival, these soldiers of fortune relied on England and Indians for food. But the supplies from England were often spoiled or hoarded, and obtaining food from the Indians was contingent on the extremely variable state of Indian-settler relations. Aware that the colonists could not survive on their own, Smith had sought to force trade with the Powhatans by intimidation. At times raiding and destroying their fields and villages to extort food and supplies, Smith engaged in practices which had the same adverse impact on the English settlers as on the Powhatans. Combined with often foul, brackish drinking water, an unfamiliar climate, and marshy terrain, these self-defeating behaviors led to a staggering mortality rate. Of the over 900 European settlers to arrive

between 1607 and 1609, only 59 survived to the spring of 1610.

If Captain John Smith had not taken command of the settlers and established a sort of military regimen requiring that settlers work for food, the colony might well have failed. After Smith left, his example was followed by others who established strict laws to regulate conduct. But even this order imposed upon the settlers would not have preserved England's first colony had not some sort of profit making venture been found.

A host of different enterprises had been unsuccessfully undertaken before John Rolfe managed to raise a West Indian strain of tobacco. In 1614 he laid the basis for a viable economy and began the English-Virginian tobacco trade by sending four barrels of tobacco to England. By 1624 Virginia was annually exporting 200,000 pounds of tobacco, and by 1638 the amount had risen to 3,000,000 pounds. Despite James I's attempts to discourage the use of tobacco, its popularity gave Virginia a period of sustained growth.

In 1618 it was still not clear to the London Company that tobacco would be a profitable commodity for trade. As the company teetered on the edge of bankruptcy, it tried to entice new settlers to Virginia by offering 50 acres to anyone who paid his own way or the way of anyone else. The company also tried to improve Virginia's government in 1619 by adopting English common law and a more representative resident government. Thus was born the House of Burgesses. Even when in 1624 the crown seized the London Company's charter, and the new king Charles I proclaimed Virginia a royal colony, Virginia continued to be governed in accordance with procedures set up by the company.

Because culturing tobacco was extremely labor intensive, Virginia needed an abundance of cheap labor. Planters recruited workers primarily from the armies of displaced peasants and destitute city dwellers in England and Ireland. Thousands of desperate people sold themselves into servitude for three to seven years in order to secure passage to the New World. Since they were mostly young, between the ages of 15 and 24, and almost three-fourths male, they hoped that after their servitude they could establish their own farms. But for most, this hope was never realized. Of the 9,000 immigrants who voyaged to Virginia between 1610 and 1622, only 2,000 survived the period. As few as one in 20 of these people, called indentured servants, managed to achieve freedom and acquire land. Not only were these servants subject to the same malarial fevers and dysentery that depleted the ranks of planters, they were also subject to harsh work routines by masters who treated them with little regard to their humanity. The brutal treatment of indentured servants anticipated, and partially prepared society for, the eventual transition to slave labor.

While tobacco gave the colony an economic basis for survival, it sharpened the already abrasive relations between European colonizers and the Powhatan tribes of the Chesapeake. From the beginning, relations between the colonizers and Native Americans were marked by ambivalence, suspicion, and frequent violence. Continuous contact did not bring understanding. The English were inclined to see their technological advantages as proof of their inherent superiority, while the Indians found the Europeans extremely militaristic.

But this very quality inspired Powhatan, the canny leader of several dozen of the 40 small tribes in the Chesapeake region, to propose an alliance with the English. He saw

in the English a potential ally who could help him retain and extend his control in the tidewater area and limit the threat of his western enemies. For this reason he repeatedly provided crucial relief for the English during their initial years of struggle. Yet the Indians of the Chesapeake were also aware of the English designs on their land. The economic success of tobacco brought increasing pressure for land. In 1617, when Opechancanough replaced Powhatan as head of the Chesapeake tribes, he concluded that the English encroachment must be halted. An epidemic which decimated the Powhatan tribes between 1617 and 1619 added to his sense of urgency. On March 22, 1622 Opechancanough launched a well-planned attack on the English of Virginia which resulted in the death of nearly a third of the immigrants. But the Indians, with their numbers reduced by disease, were no match for the English. Despite a recognition by many of the settlers of the causes of Indian hostility, this massacre provided the motivation to wage a ruthless war of extermination against the Indians. Although there was nothing inevitable about the course of Indian-settler relations in Virginia, the English land-hunger was a major contributing factor to recurrent hostilities.

## V. LESSON PLANS

1. **The Powhatans**
2. **The First Settlers Of Jamestown**
3. **Starving Time In Jamestown**
4. **Tobacco Comes To Virginia**
5. **Indian Hostility and White Revenge**

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## THE POWHATANS

### A. Objectives

1. To consider how historians study preliterate societies.

2. To analyze some aspects of Native American culture.

3. To practice distinguishing between descriptions and judgments.

### B. Lesson Activities

1. The **DRAMATIC MOMENT** which began the unit was adapted from *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631* Vol.1, edited by Edward Arber. It can be read to students or by them to set the stage for studying the founding of Jamestown and Indian-settler relations. After reading this passage, teachers can ask students to discuss it. Questions might include: What do the Indians and English want from each other? Could the Indians and English have become friends? What do they think Powhatan's decision should have been? Why?

2. Ask students to consider how historians learn about people who lived hundreds of years ago. They should consider both literate and preliterate cultures. Be sure they understand that historians rely on artifacts from the past to guide their interpretations. Often these artifacts are some sort of written record, but when a culture transmits knowledge by means other than a written language, objects like utensils, garbage mounds, ceremonial artifacts, and other physical remnants of that society are used.

These objects are compared with the artifacts from societies which historians better understand. Another way to learn about preliterate cultures is to study the descriptions of these cultures from contemporary outside observers. Students should understand that if such descriptions were made by observers unsympathetic or guided by ulterior motives, they may not be reliable. For this reason, historians learn to use and interpret records selectively. Smith's description of the Powhatans is a good example: historians appreciate his descriptions but must weigh his judgments against those of other participants.

3. Have students read **DOCUMENTS A1** and **A2** and discuss their impressions. First have them separate Smith's descriptions from his judgments. This may be difficult for students because the description is also interpretive. As long as students can defend their responses, a wide variety is acceptable. Then have students discuss whether these people can properly be characterized as "barbarous" (uncivilized).

### C. Extended Activities

There are several ways to extend this exercise. Students can consider the accuracy of Smith's interpretations.

1. For instance, Smith states that babies were washed regularly to toughen them. Since Europeans at this time did not bathe regularly, Smith may have misinterpreted Powhatan hygiene. Based on what students have learned about a tribal society's dependence on the skills and physical strength of its hunters and warriors, was Smith's observation unusally per-

ceptive? These mothers might have just been cleaning their children.

2. Students might draw inferences about aspects of Indian life not specifically discussed. Smith describes a sharp division of labor along gender lines. Have students speculate on who would make bows and arrows or the boats for fishing. Ask students to speculate on why Smith called hunting, fishing and war "manlike exercises", and the rest of the Indian society's activities "work."

3. Be sure students justify their speculations with evidence drawn from the reading. Students might also be asked to compare the way the Powhatans lived with some other group, possibly themselves.

**D. Concluding Activity**

Have students draw pictures of what they imagine the Powhatan boats, houses, and villages looked like. Their efforts could be more accurate and their understanding enhanced if you showed them the pictures drawn by John White in 1587 available, among other places, in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, Stefan Lorant, editor (New York, 1966).

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT A-1

### JOHN SMITH'S DESCRIPTION OF THE POWHATANS, 1612
(Primary Source)

John Smith, *A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion…*(Oxford, 1612)

***Each household knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most live of their owne labours.***

***For their apparell, they are some time covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in sommer without. The better sort use large mantels of deare skins not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels…***

***Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers or not farre or distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors of small young springs (saplings?) bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that not withstanding either winde raine or weather, they are as warme as stooves, but very smoaky; yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire…***

***Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens; which are smal plots of ground, some 20 (acres?), some 40, some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. Some times 2 to 100 of these houses (are) togither, or but a little separated by groves of trees. Neare their habitations is (a) little small wood, or old trees on the ground, by reason of their burning of them for fire…***

***Men women and children have their severall names according to the severall humour(s) of their parents. Their women (they say) are easilie delivered of childe, yet doe they love children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest morning they wash them in the rivers, and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins that after (a) year or two, no weather will hurt them.***

***The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seen in any woman like exercise; which is the cause that the woman be verie painfull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters; pound their corne, make their***

*bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like...*

*Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing {i.e., burning} and scratching away the coles with ston{e}s and shels till they have made it in {the} form of a Trough. Some of them are an elne {i.e., an ell, a unit of measure equal to 45 inches} deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men; but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Insteed of oares, they use paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges...*

*There is yet in Virginia no place discovered to bee so Savage in which the Savages have not a religion, Deare, and Bow and Arrowes. All thinges that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightening, thunder, our ordinance peeces {i.e., ordinance pieces, large guns}, horses, etc.*

*Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet have they amongst them such government, as that their government, as that their Magistrats for good commanding, and their people for du{e} subjection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.*

*The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall governement.*

## MODERN VERSION OF JOHN SMITH'S DESCRIPTION OF THE POWHATANS

Each family has its own land and gardens. They do their own work.

For clothes they wear animal skins. In winter they wear skins with the fur and hair left on, but in summer they wear leather. More important people wear cloaks made of deer skins that look like the cloaks the Irish wear...

They build their homes near rivers or springs. They tie long slender branches together in bundles and weave them into a frame for the house, like a giant basket. Then they lay mats or bark over this frame. The houses are warm and snug, but very smokey, even though they leave a hole above their fireplaces for smoke...

Their houses are surrrounded by their own fields and gardens. This farmland can be a small plot or large fields. Sometimes these houses are grouped together, separated only by groves of trees. Near their homes are piles of wood for burning in their home fires...

Parents give children several names. Women have babies easily, and love them very much. To make babies strong, on the coldest mornings they wash them in rivers. They also put oils and lotions on the skin of babies to protect them against the weather.

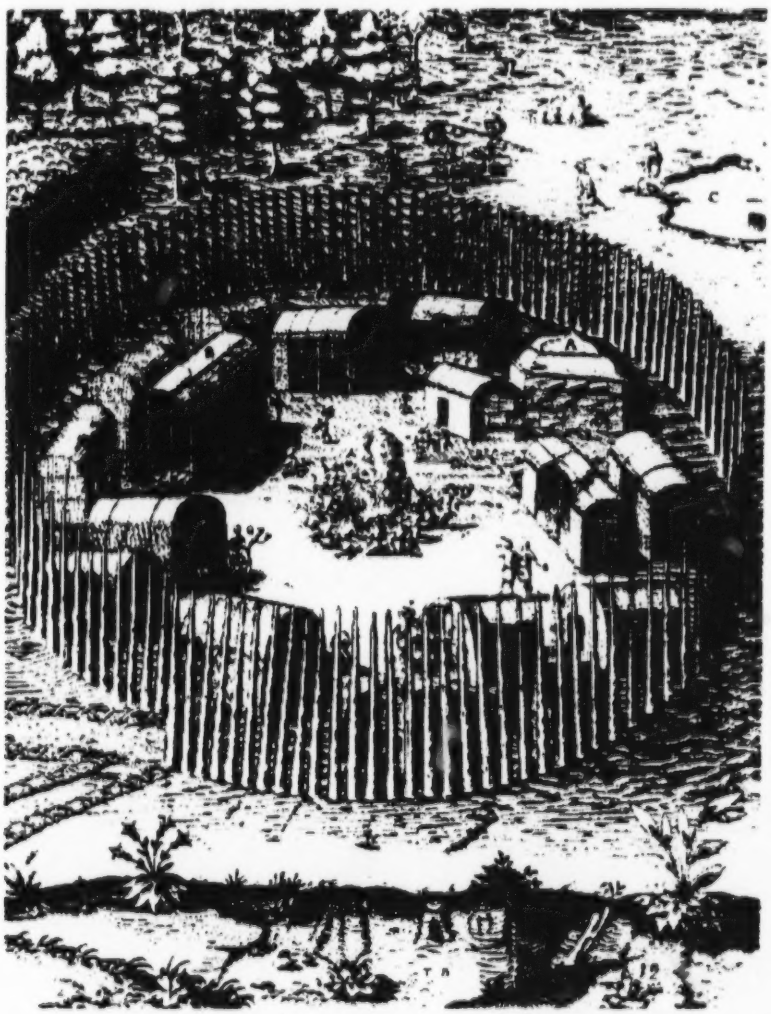
Men fish, hunt, and go to war. Women often work while the men are idle. Women and children do all the other work. They make mats, baskets, pots, and grinding tools, grind corn into flour, bake bread, and do all the cooking. They also do the farming, planting, raising, and gathering of corn. Women do the hauling and all the other heavy work...

They use boats for fishing. The boats are made by burning out the center of the tree. They scrape away the burned coals with stones and shells to form a long hollow trough. These boats can be almost four feet deep and 40 or 50 feet long. Some will hold 400 men, but most are smaller, holding 10 to 30 men. They use paddles instead of oars and can travel quickly...

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT A-2

So far all the people we have seen in Virginia have religion, hunt deer, and use bows and arrows. They worship natural forces which they cannot control, like fire, water, and lightning...

Although these people are barbarous (uncivilized), they have a form of government which is superior to the governments of many places in the world which are considered civilized. They have leaders who are wise and people who are willing to follow laws. They are ruled by a king.



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## THE FIRST SETTLERS OF JAMESTOWN

### A. Objectives

1. To speculate on the sort of population best suited for the survival and growth of a colonial society.

2. To analyze the composition—gender and occupations— of Jamestown's first settlers.

3. To make inferences about the probable future of Jamestown based on its initial population.

### B. Lesson Activities

1. Before asking the students to consider what kind of occupations would have been necessary for setting up a successful colony 380 years ago, and assuming that the place of origin is England, make sure they understand what sort of technology was available and at least enough of the hierarchical social structure to understand what gentlemen were.

   They should also decide the primary purpose of the colony. Most colonies either sought to trade with indigenous people or had a long-range goal of producing something to trade with the parent state. If the colony was mostly for trading with the existing population, the colony could be relatively small. It needed soldiers, mostly to guard against theft, and merchants, who, like modern salespeople, had to be able to work with all sorts of people. Communities that wanted to produce their own goods for trade had to have a larger, more diverse population. Because of the limits of agricultural technology in the seventeenth century, most people were necessarily farmers (called yeomen or husbandmen). Regard-

less of what was being produced, there also would have been a need for carpenters, blacksmiths, and a host of other craftsmen (called artisans), as well as many general laborers. While a trading community might be mostly male, the more productive ones usually housed women and families. Both sorts of communities required leaders.

In seventeenth-century England gentlemen composed the wealthy elite from which most leaders were drawn. As we said earlier, gentlemen had no occupation or manual skill and were not expected to do ordinary, manual work. Their function in society was to manage estates, provide knowledge and counsel. Because of the law of primogeniture, which gave the eldest son the bulk of the family inheritance in order to preserve a family's land holdings over many generations, the second and third sons of the gentry often became soldiers or adventurers, hoping to establish families and accrue wealth on their own.

Once students have been given this information, ask them to decide the purpose of their colony and the kind of people to be recruited. Record the students' model.

2. Tell students that they are going to learn, as historians would, who settled Jamestown. After dividing the class into groups, pass out **DOCUMENT B**, a list of Jamestown's first settlers and their occupations. Ask students to evaluate the document's reliability. The list was recorded by Captain Smith and was taken from ships' manifests so it is considered accurate. Have each group tally the number of men who came over from England. Ask what was the probable purpose of this colony. What do each group's findings suggest about the future of the colony?

3. Have students record the occupations and number of people with those occupations. Be sure students talk about the responsibilities of each group. Have students speculate about what the effect of so many gentlemen might be. Ask what they think would happen in any group if half the people were supposed to do the work for everyone and the other half of the people just provided advice. They should also compare Jamestown's population with that of their hypothetical colony. Does Jamestown fit either mold? Although it does not precisely fit the mold for either a trading or producing community, it loosely resembles the model of a trading community.

**C. Concluding Activity**

In order to show concretely how the original composition of settlers nearly destroyed Jamestown, divide the class into pairs by numbering them off as "ones" and "twos."

1. Explain that the "ones" will do all the work necessary to supply the basic needs for themselves and the gentlemen.

2. Explain that the "twos" are gentlemen. They will be looking for gold for themselves, looking for land to manage, and other economic opportunities available for them.

In their cooperative groups, students should discuss how they feel in these particular roles and what their options are. Would laborers feel like doing the work of two, especially if they see so many others idle? How would the gentlemen justify their position? Bring the total class together and discuss how each group sized up their situation. What do they predict would happen to such a colony?

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT B

### THE FIRST RESIDENTS OF JAMESTOWN
(Primary Source)

***Those who remained when the ships returned to England after the settlement had been established.***

*Adling (or Adding) Henry* ..... *Gentleman*
*Alicock, Jeremy (or Jerome)* ..... *Gentleman*
*Archer, Gabriel* ..... *Captain, Gentleman*
*Asbie, John* .....
*Beast, Benjamin* ..... *Gentleman*
*Behethland, (or Betheland), Robert* ..... *Gentleman*
*Brinto (or Brinton), Edward* ..... *Mason, Soldier*
*Brookes, Edward* ..... *Gentleman*
*Brookes, John* ..... *Gentleman*
*Browne, Edward* ..... *Gentleman*
*Brumfield, James* ..... *Boy*
*Bruster (or Brewster), William* ..... *Gentleman*
*Buckler, Andrew* .....
*Capper, John* .....
*Cassen (or Cawsen), George* ..... *Laborer*
*Cassen, Thomas* ..... *Laborer*
*Cassen, William* ..... *Laborer*
*Clovil, Ustis (Eustace)* ..... *Gentleman*
*Collier, Samuell* ..... *Boy*
*Cooke, Roger* ..... *Gentleman*
*Couper, (or Cowper), Thomas.* ..... *Barber*
*Crofts, Richard* ..... *Gentleman*
*Waller John* ..... *Gentleman*
*Dier (or Dye), William* .....
*Dixon, Richard* ..... *Gentleman*
*Dods, John* ..... *Laborer, Soldier*
*Edward, Ould* ..... *Laborer*
*Emry, Thomas* ..... *Carpenter*
*Fenton, Robert* ..... *Gentleman*
*Flower, George* ..... *Gentleman*
*Ford, Robert* ..... *Gentleman*
*Frith, Richard* ..... *Gentleman*
*Galthorpe, Stephen* ..... *Gentleman*
*Garret, William* ..... *Bricklayer*
*Golding (or Goulding), George* ..... *Laborer*
*Gore, Thomas* ..... *Gentleman*
*Gosnold, Anthony* ..... *Gentleman*

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT B

*Gosnoll, Anthony* ..... *Gentleman*
*Gosnold, Bartholomew* ..... *Councilor, Captain*
*Gower, Thomas* ..... *Gentleman*
*Halthorpe, Stephen* ..... *Gentleman*
*Harrington, Edward* ..... *Gentleman*
*Herd, John* ..... *Bricklayer*
*Houlgrave, Nicholas* ..... *Gentleman*
*Hunt, Robert* ..... *Master, Preacher, Gentleman*
*Walker, George* ..... *Gentleman*
*Jacob, Thomas* ..... *Sargeant*
*Johnson, William* ..... *Laborer*
*Kendall, George* ..... *Captain, Councilor*
*Kingston (or Kinistone), Ellis* ..... *Gentleman*
*Laxton, William* ..... *Carpenter*
*Laydon, John* ..... *Laborer, Carpenter*
*Loue (or Love), William* ..... *Tailor, Soldier*
*Martin, John* ..... *Gentleman*
*Martin, George* ..... *Gentleman*
*Martin, John* ..... *Captain, Councilor*
*Midwinter, Francis* ..... *Gentleman*
*Morish (or Morris), Edward* ..... *Gentleman, Corporal*
*Morton, Matthew* ..... *Sailor*
*Mounslic, Thomas* .....
*Mounton, Thomas* .....
*Mullon, Richard* ..... *Boy*
*Peacock, Nathaniel* ..... *Boy*
*Penington, John* ..... *Gentleman*
*Percy, George* ..... *Gentleman*
*Pickhouse, Dru* ..... *Gentleman*
*Posing, Edward* ..... *Carpenter*
*Powell, Nathaniel* ..... *Gentleman*
*Webbe, Thomas* ..... *Gentleman*
*Profit, Jonas* ..... *Sailor, Fisher, Soldier*
*Radcliffe, John* ..... *Captain, Councilor*
*Reed, James* ..... *Captain, Councilor*
*Robinson, John (or Jehu)* ..... *Gentleman*
*Rods, Williams* ..... *Laborer*
*Sands, Thomas* ..... *Gentleman*
*Short, John* ..... *Gentleman*
*Simons, Richard* ..... *Gentleman*
*Skot, (or Skott), Nicholas* ..... *Drummer*
*Small, Robert* ..... *Carpenter*

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT B

*Smethes, William .....Gentleman*
*Smith, John .....Captain, Councilor*
*Smarsbrough, Francis .....Gentleman*
*Stevenson, John .....Gentleman*
*Studley (or Stoodis), Thomas .....Gentleman*
*Tarkard, William .....Gentleman*
*Tasin, Henry .....Gentleman*
*Throgmorton, Kellam .....Gentleman*
*Tockill, Anas .....Soldier*
*Vnger (or Unger), William .....Laborer*
*White, William .....Laborer*
*Wilkinson, William .....Surgeon*
*Wingfield, EdwardMaria .....Master*
*.....Councilor, President*
*Watson, Thomas .....Gentleman, Surgeon*
*.....a Dutchman "with divers others, in the number of 105."*

*Mariners and Others Known to Have Been With the Expedition that Established Jamestown on May 15, 1607.*

*Browne, Oliver.....*
*Clarke, Charles .....*
*Collson, John .....Mariner*
*Cotson, John.....Mariner*
*Crookdeck, John.....*
*Deals Jeremy .....*
*Fytch, Mathew.....Mariner*
*Genoway, Richard.....*
*Godword, Thomas.....*
*Jackson, Robert.....*
*Markham, Robert .....*
*Nellson, Francys .....*
*Poole, Jonas.....*
*Skynner, Thomas .....*
*Turnbrydge, (or Turnbridge), Thomas .....*
*Newport, Christopher.....Captain, Councilor*
*Tyndall, Robert .....Mariner, Gunner*
*White, Benjamyn .....*
*Danyell.....*
*Stephen .....*

*There were 144 persons in the expedition including those (105) who remained in Virginia.*

## STARVING TIME IN JAMESTOWN

### A. Objectives

1. To learn what happened to the settlers of early Jamestown.

2. To connect causally Jamestown's early suffering with the settlers' initial treatment of the Powhatans.

3. To understand the abrasive interaction between the early settlers and the Native Americans of the region.

### B. Lesson Activities

1. Share **DOCUMENTS C1** and **C2** accounts of Jamestown's early years and an explanation of the colony's failure to show a profit. While the facts are essentially accurate, the three accounts offer different perspectives on these early years, and on the reasons why the colony failed to turn a profit.

2. Ask students to compare excerpts one and two. The first is a report of Jamestown's first days. What had changed six months after Smith's departure (excerpt two)? Students should be able to demonstrate that problems had worsened. They should grasp that only 60 out of 500 survived the winter of 1609-10. They should understand that this terrifying rate of mortality was not inevitable, but the consequence of poor planning, internal tensions, and resistance to work on the part of the settlers.

   For deeper analysis, ask students why the author of the first excerpt calls the Powhatans "mortal enemies" when they saved the settlers from starvation. Did the Powhatans see themselves this way? Were

they extremely generous or did they have their own reasons for helping the early settlers? (see **Teacher Background**, on p.14-15.)

3. Ask students to compare excerpts two and three. Where does the writer of excerpt two place the blame? Where does the writer of excerpt three place the blame? (Although the second excerpt begins by blaming the Powhatans for the troubles of the English, it concludes by blaming the settlers themselves.) Ask students to list the reasons given in the second passage for the mass starvation. Based on earlier lessons or the other passages, have them add to this list any reasonable conjectures they can. Be sure that students understand that even though the settlers starved because the Powhatans had withdrawn their support, this withdrawal was the result of long and continued harassment on the part of the English.

4. A careful reading and discussion of the third excerpt should help students better understand what these English adventurers anticipated when they founded Jamestown. Students should understand that the experiences of the Spanish in conquering the Aztecs and Incas had created a precedent these adventureres hoped to follow. They had hoped to find a land rich in gold and silver which they could drag from the earth and they hoped to harness the indigenous people into a pliant labor force or, at least, to engage them in profitable trade. Students might analyze why these anticipations failed. Virginia harbored no store of mineral wealth and although the Powhatans were willing to provide the settlers with food, they had no knowledge of refining metal as the Aztecs and Incas had, nor were they organized in a highly structured, hierarchical society that facilitated military conquest and enslavement. Nor did the English

bring with them the state-supported military forces, or an army of priests to subdue and convert the indigenous people as the Spanish had.

5. Ask students to compare these three writers' perceptions of the Powhatans. Which writer's account comes closest to John Smith's 1612 description of the Powhatans (**Lesson One**)—an industrious, well-governed, economically self-sufficient people? Which writer's account differs most from Smith's description? Can all these accounts be judged accurate in their portrayal of the Powhatans? What might account for these differences? How would a historian decide? (In conducting this discussion, it is important to discourage students from themselves distinguishing between cultures with words like "advanced," and "barbarous," "savage" or "primitive," and to foster historical understanding, instead, by discussing these cultures in some depth. It is important to help students understand that while the English had important technological advantages in their ships and use of iron, the Indians quickly adapted an iron technology into their material culture, and provided the English with a wealth of new food products, medicinal herbs, dyes, cultivation practices, and other cultural innovations.)

**C. Concluding Activities**

1. Have students describe these same events from the perspective of the Powhatans. This activity could be done orally or as a written activity. To make it a more interesting oral activity and to add a note of authenticity, students could assume the role of elders passing on their tribal history in story form to younger tribe members.

2. Alternatively, have the class imagine that they are the settlers of Jamestown in early 1609. Using the reading from this lesson, students can confront the problems the colony is facing. They need to know that their ships must leave for England and will not be back during the winter. They also should realize that because they have not treated the Indians decently, the Indians are becoming more reluctant to provide them with food. Finally, they must recognize that because so many of the gentlemen spend their time idly, even the poorer folk, who are supposed to do physical labor, resent chores and try to avoid work.

   Students should devise a plan to avoid starving in the winter. They might divide into labor groups responsible for specific tasks or require everyone to work for a fixed period of time. They might decide to farm cooperatively or assign each person a plot of ground and require them to grow their own food. They need some effective means of making plans as a group and seeing that those plans are carried to completion. Students could also decide to review and change their Indian policy. This could either be a class activity or a small group activity. It could also be conducted informally as a discussion and turned into a writing exercise.

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT C-1

### EXCERPTS OF ACCOUNTS FROM THE EARLY YEARS
(Primary Sources)

#### EXCERPT ONE

***"It pleased God after awhile, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeve us with such victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by divers Kings in the Countrie, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort."***

Excerpted from "George Percy's Account of the Voyage to Virginia and the Colony's First Days" *Jamestown Voyages*. Ed. Barbour. Vol. 1.

#### EXCERPT TWO

***"What by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of five hundred within six moneths after Captaine Smiths departure (October 1609-March 1610), there remained not past sixtie, men, women and children***

***This was that time, which still to this day (1624) we call the starving time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleeved, what we endured; but the occasion our owne, for want of providence industrie and government, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed;"***

Excerpted from *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*. Ed. Edward Arber, F.S.A. Vol 2. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910.

#### EXCERPT THREE

***"It was the spaniards good hap to happen upon those parts where were infinite numbers of people, whoe had manured the ground with that providence that it afforded victuall at all times; and time had brought them to that perfection (that) they had the use of gold and silver, and (of) the most of such commodities as their countries affoorded: so that what the Spaniard got was only the spoile and pillage of those countrie people, and not the labours of their owne hands.***

***But had those fruitfull Countries beene as Salvage (i.e., savage), as barbarous, as ill-peopled, as little planted laboured and manured, as Virginia; their proper labours, it is likely would have produced as small a profit as ours."***

Excerpted from *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia Since Their First Beginning*. By William Simmonds. Oxford,1612.

## MODERN VERSION OF EXCERPTS OF ACCOUNTS FROM THE EARLY YEARS

### Excerpt One

Thanks to God, our deadly enemies saved us by bringing food—great amounts of bread, corn, fish, and meat. This food saved all of us weak and starving men. Otherwise we would all have died. Leaders from other tribes also brought us food and supplies which made us comfortable.

### Excerpt Two

Six months after Captain Smith left, the cruelty of the [Powhatans], the stupidity of our leaders, and the loss of our ships [when they sailed away] caused 440 of the 500 people in Jamestown to die...

We still call this time the "Starving Time." What we suffered was too terrible to talk about and too hard to believe. But the fault was our own. We starved because we did not plan well, work hard, or have good government. Our problems were not because the land was bad, as most people believe.

### Excerpt Three

It was the Spaniards' good luck to find lands where there were huge numbers of people who worked so hard that there was always food. These people were so advanced they developed the use of gold and silver and the other things their land provided. The Spanish pillaged and robbed these people. They did not work for what they got. If these rich countries had been as savage, as barbarous (uncivilized), as poorly planted and with as few people as Virginia, then the Spanish would not have made any more profits than we made.

## LESSON FOUR

### TOBACCO COMES TO VIRGINIA

#### A. Objectives

1. To learn that tobacco became a source of wealth for the colonists.

2. To see Virginia in the early years of the tobacco boom from two different perspectives and to speculate on how well these two descriptions fit together.

3. To understand that the tobacco boom did not benefit everyone in Virginia and set the colony on the road to a slave labor economy.

#### B. Lesson Activities

1. Ask students to speculate on how tobacco might have saved the Virginia colony. If they have trouble coming up with likely hypotheses, ask them why Jamestown was founded. If they understand that the colony was founded by adventurers seeking fortunes in the new world, they might guess that tobacco was an extremely profitable crop.

2. Give students a chance to study **DOCUMENT D**, the frontispiece to a book advertising Virginia in 1609 and an excerpt from another book which promotes raising tobacco for export in 1614. Help students understand that both the book frontispiece and the written excerpt are from recruiting pamphlets for Virginia which were intended to attract financial support and more immigrants. Remind them that these booklets were published when Jamestown was enduring its most severe problems. Questions to ask students include:

*This illustration of a flowering tobacco plant was reproduced as published in Tobacco Culture, The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution, by T. H. Breen, copyright 1985, with the kind permission of the copyright owner, Princeton University Press.*

a. When were these published?

b. What was happening in Virginia in 1609?

c. How do these excerpts make Virginia sound?

d. Who was expected to read the booklets?

e. Why would the Virginia Company want to advertise their colony?

f. Why did John Rolfe first plant tobacco?

g. Does the reason he first planted tobacco fit with other aspects of Virginia you already know about?

3. When students understand that tobacco became the focus of economic activity in Virginia, have them read **DOCUMENT E1**, two letters from the first years of the tobacco boom and **DOCUMENT E2**, a modern version of the letters. Students should note <u>who</u> is writing <u>to whom</u> in each letter and ask the students to speculate on why the two accounts differ.

4. After students have read the letters, have them record observations drawn from the letters. Such observations might include:

a. Some people could make lots of money growing tobacco.

b. Indentured servants could make planters even richer.

c. Indentured servants were likely to die within a few years.

d. People showed their wealth by buying fancy clothes.

e. The food and clothes of servants were provided by masters.

f. Not all masters provided adequate amounts of food or clothing.

g. For at least some servants, life was harsh.

h. Some servants regretted coming to Virginia.

i. Richard Frethorne had to work hard.

Ask students if the letters are contradictory. Be sure they justify their answers with reasons. If they think the letters are incompatible, ask if they think one is more accurate and why. Have the students assume both letters are accurate descriptions and ask if John Pory's description of a cowkeeper in fancy silk can be reconciled to Richard Frethorne's sad story.

5. As indicated in the Teacher's Background, the experience of Richard Frethorne was like that of thousands of poor Irish, Scotch, and English youths who sold themselves into servitude in the hope of one day acquiring their own land. As Frethorne's account suggests, conditions were extremely harsh; most indentured servants died before they finished their term of bondage. Yet the poverty in their homeland was sufficiently extreme and the appeal to possible wealth was sufficiently alluring that for years recruiting laborers was easy. Eventually, however, not only did the labor supply begin to shrink, but those who came began to survive the years of indenture in greater numbers. Accustomed to cheap, abundant labor, Virginia planters easily made the transition to slave labor, when the English began to encroach on the Dutch slave trade at the end of the seventeenth century. In a class discussion have students speculate on how the treatment of indentured servants

anticipated and partially prepared colonial Virginia for the eventual transition to slave labor. Questions that might be asked:

a. Why would young people be willing to sell themselves into servitude?

b. Why would masters treat their servants so harshly?

c. Does the treatment of indentured servants resemble what you have heard about slavery?

d. How does it differ from slavery?

e. For people who did not live to the end of their terms of indenture, was being an indentured servant different from being a slave? (Yes, slavery, unlike indentured servitude, was hereditary in the colony. Children of slaves were born into slavery. They did not sell themselves into slavery.)

**C. Concluding Activity**

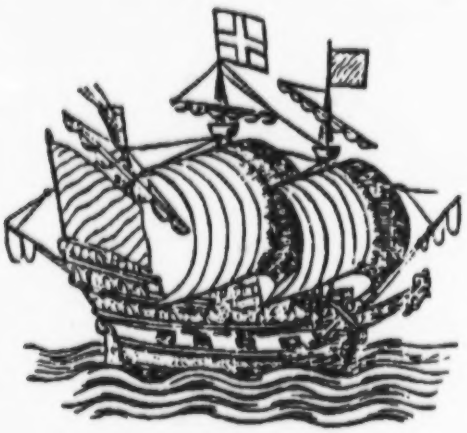
1. Divide the class into planters and servants. Using the letters in **DOCUMENT E1** as models, have students write letters home describing their lives. They should describe their daily routine, living conditions, and their feelings about Virginia without specifically identifying their social status.

2. Then read some of the letters to the class and have them guess whether the author was writing as a planter or a servant.

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT D

*Nova Britannia.*
*OFFRING MOST*
*Excellent fruites by Planting in*
*VIRGINIA*

*Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same.*



*London*
*Printed for SAMUEL MACHAM and are to be fold*
*at his Shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the*
*Signe of the Bul-head.*
*1609*

An advertisement for opportunities in Virginia. Courtesy of Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

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***Ra[l]phe Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June. 1614... (London, 1614), 24.***

*...The valuable commoditie of Tobacco of such esteeme in England (if there were nothing else) which every man may plant, and with the least part of his labour, tend and cure will returne him both cloathes and other necessaries.*

*I may not forget the gentleman, worthie of much commendations, which first took the pains to make triall thereof, his name Mr. John Rolfe, Anno Domini 1612. partly for the love he hath a long time borne unto it, and partly to raise commodity to the adventurers.*

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT E-1

### TWO LETTERS FROM VIRGINIA
(Primary Source)

[John Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton, September 30, 1619]

***...All our riches for the present doe consiste in Tobacco, wherein one man by his owne labour hath in one yeare raised himselfe to the value of 200£ sterling; and yet another by meanes of sixe servants hath cleared at one crop a thousand pound English (i.e., £1,000). These be true, yet indeed rare examples, yet possible to be done by others. Our principall wealth (I should have said) consisteth in servants: But they are chardgeable to be furnished with armes, apparell, and bedding and for their transportation and casual (expenses), both at sea, and for their first yeare commonly at lande also: But if they escape (death), they prove very hardy, and sound able men.***

***Nowe that your lordship may knowe, that we are not the veriest beggers in the worlde, our cowekeeper here of James citty on Sundays goes accowtered all in freshe flaming silke; and a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte, not of a scholler, but of a collier of Croydon, weares her rough bever hatt with a faire perle hatband, and a silken suite thereto correspondent.***

Excerpted from Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625, Original Narratives of Early American History. Ed. Lyon Gardiner Tyler. New York, 1907. (pp. 284-285).

[Richard Frethorne to his parents, March 20, April 2, 3, 1623]

***Loveing and kind father and mother my most humble duty remembered to you hopeing in God of your good health, as I my selfe am at the makeing hereof, this is to let you understand that I your Child am in a most heavie Case by reason of the nature of the Country is such that it Causeth much sicknes... We must Worke hard both earelie, and late for a messe of water gruell, and a mouthfull of bread, and beife(.) a mouthfull of bread for a pennie loafe must serve for 4 men which is most pitifull if you did knowe as much as I, when people crie out day, and night, Oh that they were in England without their lymbes and would not care to loose anie lymbe to be in England againe, yea though they beg from doore to doore... I have nothing at all, no not a shirt to my backe, but two Ragges nor no Clothes, but one poore suite, nor but one paire of shooes, but one paire of stockins, but one Capp, but two bands, my Cloke is stollen by one of my owne***

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT E-1

***fellows, and to his dying hower would not tell mee what he did with it...but I am not halfe a quarter so strong as I was in England, and all is for want of victualls, for I doe protest unto you, that I have eaten more in a day at home then I have allowed me here for a Weeke...***

***O that you did see may (i.e., my) daylie and hourelie sighes, grones, and teares, and thumpes that I afford mine owne brest, and rue and Curse the time of my birth with holy Job. I thought no head had beene able to hold so much water as hath and doth dailie flow from mine eyes.***

Excerpted from Edward Waterhouse, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*. By Edward Waterhouse, Ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1906-1935. Spelling has been standardized.

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT E-2

### MODERN VERSION OF TWO LETTERS FROM VIRGINIA

John Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton, 1619

...All our wealth comes from tobacco. One man, by himself, was able to raise enough tobacco to earn 200 pounds sterling [a huge amount of money for the time, like earning $200,000]. Another person with six servants was able to get 1000 pounds sterling from his tobacco crop. While such examples are rare, they are true and show that such wealth is possible. I should have said our main source of wealth is servants. We have to pay all their expenses, like food and clothes. But if they survive, they are good workers.

Just so you know that we are not the poorest people in the world, even Jamestown's cowkeeper [a low paying job] dresses in red silk clothes. And the wife of a man who was only a coal miner in England has a beaver hat with a hatband made of pearls. She wears this hat with her expensive silk dress.

Richard Frethorne to his parents, 1623

Loving and kind Father and Mother, I hope to God you are healthy as I am. I am writing to let you know how awful I feel about being in Virginia, a place which causes sickness...

We must work hard from morning until night for watery soup and a mouthful of bread and beef. A mouthful of bread from a penny loaf must be shared by four people. You would understand our sad and unfortunate situation if you could hear the people crying day and night like I do. They pray they were in England and would be willing to cut off an arm or a leg to get there—even if they had to beg from door to door. I have nothing, not even a shirt on my back. I wear rags, not clothes. I have underwear, stockings, shoes, and a hat, but no change of clothes. One of the fellows I work with stole my cloak. But even as he died, he refused to tell me what he had done with it.

I am eight times weaker than I was in England and all because I never have enough to eat. I swear that I used to eat more in a day at home than I am allowed to eat in a week here.

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT E-2

Oh, I wish you could see how I constantly sigh, groan, cry, and beat my breast. Like holy Job [a figure in the Bible known for the suffering he endured], I regret and curse my birth. I thought no human head could hold the amount of water [tears] I see daily flowing from my eyes.

## LESSON FIVE

### INDIAN HOSTILITY AND WHITE REVENGE

**A. Objectives**

1. To analyze how the relations between Indians and settlers worsened as a consequence of the demand for land caused by the tobacco boom.

2. To understand that the attempts by the Powhatan Confederacy to resist English expansion by armed force were used in turn to justify destroying the Powhatans.

3. To speculate about the options available to both peoples and the possible consequences of each.

**B. Lesson Activities**

1. Have the students speculate on how tobacco growing affected Indian-settler relations. Have them recount how abrasive Indian-settler relations had been since the first settlement. How did the success of tobacco lead to new demands for land and the expansion of the English settlement? What might be the outcome of this new source of tension?

2. Explain to students that in 1617, when Powhatan died, the new leader of the Powhatan Confederacy, Opechancanough, decided to resist the English push to take over Indian land. Powhatan had made agreements with various English leaders from a position of relative strength, but these agreements had not succeeded in keeping the English from pushing further into Indian lands once the cultivation of tobacco became profitable. Opechancanough was alarmed not only at the growing numbers of English and their obvious land hunger, but also by the de-

clining numbers of his people. Epidemics from smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever and other diseases introduced by the colonists had ravaged the Indians in the 1580s and in 1608, and had returned between 1617 and 1619 to further reduce the Indians. Have students speculate on his options.

In March 1622, as Opechancanough was getting the tribes of the Chesapeake ready for a unified attack on English settlements, one of his most important advisors, the religious leader and war chief Nemattanew, was murdered by the English. Although his death sparked the Indian assault which led to the massacre of almost one-third of the colonists, the underlying cause of this attack was expansion into Indian lands. This massacre was the final factor which led to the bankruptcy of the Virginia Company of London. Also as a consequence of the Indian attack of 1622, the conquest and destruction of the Powhatans and the confiscation of their land was easily rationalized by the English settlers.

3. Have students speculate on how the English might respond to this attack. Pass out **DOCUMENT F**, an excerpt from Edward Waterhouse's account of how the attack would benefit the English settlers. After students have read and interpreted this document, have them compare it with the excerpts from **DOCUMENT C** in **LESSON THREE**. Questions to ask students include:

   a. How do Waterhouse's plans for the Indians and their lands contrast with the plans of the first settlers?

   b. Does Waterhouse sound as if he wants to leave Virginia?

c. Does Waterhouse seem to fear the Powhatans? Why or why not?

d. Is the way Waterhouse wants to treat the Indians the only choice the colonists had?

4. Older students can discuss how English attitudes toward the Powhatans had been changed by the massacre of 1622. While always tense, relations between the two groups had previously rested on considerable respect by the English for the Powhatans. That respect now disappeared and earlier descriptions of the Powhatans as "ingenious," "industrious" and "quick of apprehension" were replaced by such descriptions as "lying," "inconsistent," and unthinking of the consequences of their actions.

a. Can students think of other cases when military attack has caused a nation or group to change its assessment of another people?

b. What effects does this practice have? Is it easier for people to justify war, to join in subjugating others, or to engage in genocide when their adversary has been negatively characterized in this way?

c. What do students anticipate will occur in English-Powhatan relationships, following the massacre of 1622?

**C. Concluding Activity**

1. Students can be invited to think through the possible courses of action that the English and the Powhatans might now embark upon. Divide the class into two

groups (four, if greater individual participation is desired), and identify each group as either English or Powhatan. Give them opportunity to develop a wise course of action, given the historical circumstances of 1622. What risks do they anticipate, and what benefits do they expect to attain from that course of action?

Bring the class together and discuss the alternatives. Ask students to maintain their roles and critique each proposal from the point of view of the opposing side. For instance, the Powhatans could move west—where they would meet other Indians who may or may not be hostile. They could continue to resist the settlers and hope to negotiate a favorable peace, but the settlers, ever more numerous, would eventually triumph. If the Powhatans were interested in assimilating and settlers were willing to allow them, they might find a place for themselves in the world being made by the colonists. English settlers might decide that continued hostilities with the Powhatans interfered with their dreams of success. They might want a favorable treaty that would secure more land and guarantee peace. They could also decide that it would be more practical to destroy the Powhatans once and for all. Concerning this last option, students should be required to consider the morality of such a decision. How could such an act be justified?

2. To bring this lesson to completion, teachers can inform students of the events that historically did occur. Instructions came from London supporting the colonists' thirst for revenge and advising a "scorched earth" policy in which military expeditions were to be sent out each summer to destroy Indian settlements and crops, with the intention of rooting the people from the land. In 1644 the

Powhatans, though increasingly depleted in numbers and increasingly outmanned by the rapidly growing English colony, attacked again under the leadership of an aged and infirm Opechancauough, whose warriors carried him into battle on a litter. Though once again defeated in battle, the Powhatans' fortitude at last convinced the English that conquest would not come easily. A formal peace treaty was finally agreed upon in 1646, establishing the boundary between English territory and territory reserved for some 2000 survivors of the Powhatan Confederacy—an agreement that marked the beginning of a reservation system which sought to ensure the safety of the Indian population in their own territory and enforced separation of the races.

Whether this treaty indeed established a lasting peace, or only a temporary period of stability until land pressures again built up (and exploded in the events leading to Bacon's Rebellion) is a question students might pursue in a subsequent lesson.

*An unidentified Virginia Indian of 1645.*
*Courtesy of Rare Books and Manuscripts Division*
*The New York Public Library*
*Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations*

## STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT F

### EDWARD WATERHOUSE'S WRITING
(Primary Source)

***Our hands, which before were tied with gentleness and fair usage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Savages, not untying the Knot, but cutting it: So that we, who hitherto have had possession of no more ground than their waste, and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their own contentment, gained; may now by right of War, and law of Nations, invade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy us: whereby we shall enjoy their cultivated places, turning the laborious Mattock into the victorious Sword (wherein there is more both ease, benefit, and glory) and possessing the fruits of others' labors. Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situated in the fruitfullest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labor.***

Reprinted from *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*. By Edward Waterhouse. Ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933. Spelling has been standardized.

### MODERN VERSION OF EDWARD WATERHOUSE'S WRITING

Our hands, which used to be tied by the need for gentleness and fair play, are now free. The treacherous violence of the savages [Indians] cut the knot that tied our hands. Until now we only had the wasteland that the Indians did not want. We paid them well for this land, just to keep them satisfied. Since we were attacked, we have the right to invade their lands and destroy the people who tried to destroy us. We will turn the hard working mattock [a digging tool like a pick] into the victorious sword which gives us more glory with less effort by letting us take what others have made. Until now, clearing the forest was our hardest work; now the cleared farm lands in their villages, which is the best land, shall be ours.

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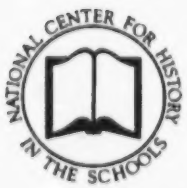




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